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TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

SIR,—Before I proceed to the remaining points of my proposed discussion, I think it necessary to notice a new project, in which you appear to have taken a leading part, and which has, in my opinion, a tendency extremely dangerous to the real freedom and happiness of the country. You will easily perceive, that I allude to your strange proposal for effecting a compulsory adoption of the new system of inoculation. At a meeting held by a Society, formed for the purpose of “exterminating the small-pox,” held at the London Tavern on the 19th instant, you and a DR. CLARKE, are reported, in the public papers, to have expressed yourselves as follows:—“MR. WILBERFORCE rose, and having questioned Dr. B. respecting the prejudices that still existed against this new inoculation, observed, that in his opinion the first step which the meeting should take would be to form a committee, and then to apply to parliament for its countenance and support. He observed, that it was a great national question; and he was confident that a petition to parliament would find very powerful succour; that it would call forth the exertions of the lord lieutenants of counties, and the magistrates and parish officers; and through their means the whole country would enjoy the benefit resulting from this discovery.”—“DR. CLARKE followed much in the same strain; and observed that he thought that in future no person ought to practice the old mode of inoculation, except under very particular circumstances, and with the approbation of the civil magistrate, not that he wished to abridge the liberty of the subject, or to countenance the least interference of the state in matters relating to life and health, but that no one had a right to injure the community in the exercise of that privilege.”—Now, Sir, without entering into any inquiry as to the merits of DR. JENNER's system of inoculation, give me leave to ask you, how you can reconcile a proposition like this to the spirit of that constitution, of which you profess to be so great an admirer, and to that freedom, of which you wish to be regarded as one of the principal supporters? That you agree with

Dr. Clarke, that you have in view an Act of Parliament to compel people to have their children inoculated with the Cow Pox, or not to have them inoculated at all, is, I think, evident enough, else why “apply to Parliament for countenance and support?” Parliament has already given that countenance and support, which, supposing the discovery to be a good one, it was proper for it to give. It has munificently rewarded Dr. Jenner for his labours, and for communicating their result to the nation at large; and, having so done, it has left his system to that encouragement and support, which it will be sure to meet with from successful experience. But, it seems, there are “prejudices” against this system, which it is necessary to destroy by force. Sir, that there are prejudices, and very strong ones too, I am ready to allow; and if I were to say, that these “prejudices” extend to a very great majority of even the medical men, in the kingdom, I believe, I should not be erroneous in my statement. But, I cannot agree, that these “prejudices” ought to be eradicated by force; nor is it, perhaps, very fair to use this degrading term, as expressive of the dislike, which so large a portion of the community entertain to the system, which you are so anxious to compel them to adopt. The charge of “prejudice,” Sir, has been preferred but too often and with but too fatal success, against every one opposed to change. How many millions of times has it been brought against the monarchists of France, and, in England, against the opposers of parliamentary reform? The truth is, that whoever has been found to object to innovation, however wild in itself, however destructive in its consequences, has constantly been accused of “prejudice;” and, as prejudice, thus used, implies a mixture of ignorance and perverseness, and, as few persons are willing to be thought ignorant and perverse, the dread of this imputation has most powerfully contributed towards the success of that system of plunder, of bloodshed, and of blasphemy, which has, for the last ten years, overwhelmed the nations of Europe. But, why need I travel so far in search of facts to illustrate and establish my argument, when your society itself has fur-

nished me with such excellent materials? There was, as you must well remember, Sir, a strong and very general objection, which, for a long time, prevailed against the *old* system of inoculation; and you cannot have forgotten, that this objection was termed "*prejudice*," and the persons entertaining it were regarded as *illiterate, ignorant, or perverse*; yet, it now appears from the address of your society to the public, that it would have been well for the human race, if the "*prejudice*" of those "*illiterate, ignorant, or perverse*" persons had universally obtained; for you now tell us, that "*inoculation, by spreading the contagion, has considerably increased its mortality.*" With an example like this before our eyes, Sir, ought we not to be very cautious how we adopt a new system of inoculation?—But, it is not to the endeavours of your *society* that I object. Those endeavours seem to be directed to the mere *encouragement* of a system, of the good effects of which they are fully persuaded. In their resolutions and addresses, they propose no *force*. So far all may be right. What I am opposed to, what I am alarmed at, is the proposition of you and Dr. Clarke, to obtain, for the support of the system, an *Act of Parliament*, which would, in its operation, be nothing short of a *compulsion* on every man to suffer the veins of his child to be impregnated with the disease of a beast, or, to expose its life to the utmost violence of the most furious and most fatal of all human contagions—a measure to be adopted in no country where the people are not vassals or slaves.—I like not this never-ending recurrence to Acts of Parliament. Something must be left, and something *ought* to be left, to the sense and reason and morality and religion of the people. There are, as I observed on a former occasion, a set of "*well-meaning men*" in this country, who would pass laws for the regulating and restraining of every feeling of the human breast, and every motion of the human frame: they would bind us down, hair by hair, as the Liliputians did Gulliver, 'till anon, when we awoke from our sleep, we should wonder by whom we had been enslaved. But, I trust, Sir, that the Parliament is not, and never will be, so far under the influence of these minute and meddling politicians, as to be induced to pass laws for taking out of a man's hands the management of his household, the choice of his physician, and the care of the health of his children; for, under this sort of domiciliary thralldom, to talk of the liberty of the country would be the most cruel mockery where-

with an humble and subjected people was ever insulted.

From this digression I now return to the points of discussion proposed in my former letter, p. 33.

2. *The persecution of Mr. Reeves* is intimately connected with your dangerous, and fortunately, abortive projects of *Parliamentary Reform*. Those projects led, as I have already shown, to the formation of the seditious and treasonable societies and combinations, with which the nation was agitated, during the former years of the war; and, it is well known, that Mr. Reeves invented, and placed himself at the head of those "*LOYAL ASSOCIATIONS*," which, as Mr. Dundas (now Lord Viscount Melville), truly and manfully stated, "*did the country infinite good*," and which associations never would have been necessary, had it not been for those principles of Parliamentary Reform, on which the seditious and treasonable societies were founded. Mr. Reeves having, with the aid of his loyal associates, roused the country to a sense of its danger from internal commotion; having created a power, and, at that time, the only power, capable of counteracting the hostile power already in motion; having succeeded, in checking and even in subduing the combinations against which his efforts were immediately directed; having thus arrested the progress of the mortification, which was fast approaching the very heart of the monarchy, and having perceived the cause from whence the danger had arisen, he next began the process of a radical cure, without which he wisely concluded, that dangers similar to that which had just subsided, must inevitably return. With this view he published a "*LETTER*," which he very properly addressed to the "*Quiet good sense of the people of England*," in which letter he discussed the nature, the principles, the form, the operation, and the effects, of the English government. In the course of this discussion, and in his description of the constituent parts of the government, he made use of the following words:—"The kingly government may go on, in all its functions, without Lords or Commons." * This, though only a *part of a*

* If only the *whole sentence* had been taken, the sense of the whole would have instantly appeared to be perfectly harmless.—"The kingly government may go on, in all its functions, without Lords or Commons: it has heretofore done so for years together, and, in our times, it does so during every *recess* of Parliament; but, without the King, his Parliament is no more."—But, notwithstanding the scandalous garbling which this sentence underwent, notwithstanding the manifest, the crying injustice of culling out a single

paragraph, and even of a sentence, and though abundantly guarded and qualified by the context, was alleged, by some persons in the then Parliament, of whom Messrs. Sturt, Sheridan and yourself were at the head, to be a "malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel, containing matter tending to create jealousies and divisions amongst his Majesty's loyal subjects; to alienate their affections from our happy form of government, as established in Kings, Lords, and Commons, and to subvert the true principles of our free constitution; and a high breach of the privileges of the House." These were the words of the motion, which was made by Mr. Sheridan, which was supported by you, and which, with the memorable and honourable exception of Mr. Windbam and Sir William Dolben, was unanimously adopted by the then House of Commons, on the 26th of November, 1795.—The House have legally ascertained, that Mr. Reeves was the author, or, at least, the publisher, of the letter, Mr. Sheridan (on the 14th of Dec. 1795), after professing his wish "to set an example of lenity and mercy," and suggesting the propriety of "removing Mr. Reeves from any place of trust," concluded with the following motion:—"That one of the said printed books" (the letter) "be burnt by the

member of a sentence, for the purpose of prosecution, the base news-printers of London refused the friends of Mr. Reeves to insert in their papers, not a justification, but an explanation of the passage which had been quoted from his letter! There was an absolute league of these printers, and HARRIOT in particular, who was at the nod of the Treasury, whose very types had been purchased out of the public money, refused to insert in his paper the entire sentence, though accompanied with no comment at all!—And these are the blessings of the British press! This is the "birthright of Britons," the "palladium of free men!" Beshrew me but it glads my heart to see that Buonaparté has taken hold of it! He will, if I am not much deceived, amply avenge the cause of Mr. Reeves and of all the other loyal men, whom this press has uniformly defamed. There is a long account to settle with it in behalf of the American, the French, and the Irish loyalists; a long arrear of punishment due for fomenting and feeding the several rebellions, the success of which, has finally raised up a man capable of inflicting on it a suitable chastisement.—The House of Commons too! What will they say to the insolent publications of the *Moniteur*, which are circulated through every part of the kingdom, and the translations of which are also sold with as little apprehension as a man would sell a bible? Will the House of Commons look over this? Can they possibly wink at a publication, in which laws are dictated to them, in which it is, in so many words, proposed to sew up their mouths for two years, to "punish their tongues," if they use those tongues too freely! Will not Mr. Sheridan make a motion to have this malicious libel burnt by the hands of the common hangman, though it comes from the press of the French gov.

"hands of the common hangman, in New Palace Yard, Westminster, on Monday the 21st day of this instant December, at one of the clock in the afternoon; and that another of the said printed books be burnt by the hands of the common hangman before the Royal Exchange in London, on Tuesday the 22d day of this instant December, at the same hour; and the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex do attend at the said time and places respectively, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly."—To this *lenient and merciful* motion an amendment was proposed by Mr. Dundas, and finally carried, leaving out the whole except the word "that," and substituting an address to his Majesty to cause Mr. Reeves to be prosecuted for the alleged libel. Mr. Dundas, who was not in the House when the former motion passed, behaved, on this occasion, in a manner that did him infinite credit. He boldly stated the motives, which had induced the opposition to make this attack upon Mr. Reeves, and severely reprobated the attempt now made to render the House at once party, prosecutor, and judge. LORD SHEFFIELD said, that he saw "one set of men, instead of prosecuting a libel against the constitution, meant to persecute a man whom they considered as having counteracted their views; and, on the other side, a desire to shrink from and withhold the common protection due to a man, whom it was evidently intended to oppress, although they did not consider him as guilty."—In consequence of Mr. Dundas's amendment, a prosecution was commenced against Mr. Reeves, whose letter a court and jury determined *not to be a libel*, and it has, accordingly, been republished, and is now to be purchased in every book-shop in London.

Before I remark, Sir, on the part which you took in this persecution, I think it necessary to advert to one of the circumstances, under which the matter was brought forward. It was ushered into the House of Commons, and contended for the precedence, with a defence of CITIZEN LEE, made by Mr. Sturt, Mr. Grey, and others, but particularly by Mr. Grey. Now, Sir, this Citizen Lee, having escaped from the hands of justice in England, came to the city where I lived at that time (Philadelphia), and where, in order, I suppose, to furnish an illustration of Mr. Grey's defence of him, he hung out at the door of the house where he lodged, absolutely out in the street, a large printed paper, for the purpose of collecting subscriptions to a work, which he proposed to put to press under the patronage of the citizens

of Philadelphia, entitled, "A HISTORY OF THE CRIMES OF THE TYRANT GEORGE GUELPH, COMMONLY CALLED KING OF GREAT BRITAIN," to which proposals he found, in a city containing sixty thousand souls, but *five* persons infamous enough to put their names; and, in consequence of this hopeful debut, the citizen was, in a very short time, hooted out of Philadelphia, and soon after took up his quarters in the jail of New York.—Such was one of the execrable villains, who were *defended* by the persecutors of Mr. Reeves!

But, Sir, from the defenders of Citizen Lee, Mr. Reeves had to expect persecution: not so from *you*, whose former dangerous errors he was endeavouring to eradicate from the minds of the deluded people, and who now professed to be engaged in the same cause with himself; yet, I have every reason to believe, that it was you whose advice determined Mr. Pitt to abandon and to sacrifice him. At any rate, your name appeared amongst the foremost of those, who demanded punishment on his head, and who replied, or *attempted* to reply, to Mr. Windham's defence of the publication. "We are now," said you, "endeavouring to check *seditious* and *libellous* publications of an *opposite* tendency; it, therefore, becomes us, in order to vindicate ourselves from the charge of injustice and *partiality*, when publications of a seditious nature are under contemplation, to take proper notice of the *insidious* pamphlet now before us."* And this was the ground on which you voted for the prosecution! These are your notions of justice! These are the notions of a "well-meaning," a "conscientious," man! Of a man who, on all convenient occasions, prefers his claim to a monopoly of upright and conscientious motives, and also of political prudence!—What, I pray you, Sir, had Mr. Reeves's pamphlet to do with those "seditious and libellous publications of an *opposite* tendency," which it was in the contemplation of the House to prevent? Because it had become necessary to pass two Acts for the punishing of *treason* and *sedition*, was it, "*therefore*," necessary to punish *loyalty*? because Horne Tooke, and Hardy, the shoemaker, had so far acted upon the principles of Parliamentary Reform as to endanger the existence of the state; because it had become necessary in 1795, to punish, as seditious libels (which they really were), publications, which the Reformers had issued, with impunity, in 1782 and 1784; because it had become necessary to punish those unlawful, inflammatory, mischievous publications, tending immediately to a radical revo-

lution, to the complete destruction of the parliament, the monarch, and the monarchy; because it had become just and necessary to punish publications like these, was it, "*therefore*," just and necessary to punish a publication full of loyalty, and containing not a single sentiment which was not, and which is not, strictly conformable to the law of the land, and to the doctrines of the Church? How came it "*conscientious*," I pray you, to pursue, to harass, to punish Mr. Reeves, for the sake of vindicating yourself "from the charge of *injustice* and *partiality*" with respect to another matter, in which Mr. Reeves had no concern? It must be confessed that, at a time when two Acts, two Acts extremely necessary, but containing provisions theretofore unknown to the laws of this country; it must be confessed, that, while Acts like these were passing through the House, and while it was well known that the disgraceful and fatal cause of them sprang from the principles of the Parliamentary reformers, it was very natural for those reformers to seek for some sacrifice wherewith to appease the clamours of their ancient associates, some sop wherewith to stop the mouth of the discarded Cerberus, or, to repeat your own words, some opportunity of "vindicated yourselves from the charge of *injustice* and *partiality*;" but, would not justice have suggested another sort of sacrifice than that which was fixed on? Would it not have called on you and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Beaufoy for a manly acknowledgment of your errors; for an explicit retraction of the dangerous principles, of which, through youth and inexperience, you had contributed to the propagation; for an expression of deep repentance for the past, and a promise of being more prudent for the future? Such conduct would have indicated true greatness of mind, and such, I hope, would have been the conduct of Mr. Pitt, had he not in this, as in too many other cases, yielded to your advice.

The evil consequences of the abandoning and the persecuting of Mr. Reeves, both with respect to the parties and to the nation at large, have been much greater than you would be ready to acknowledge, or, perhaps, than you really are aware of; for, not to be able to penetrate beneath the surface of events does, indeed, appear to be an indispensable requisite in a "*safe* politician."—At the time when the persecution took place, I was very well situated for forming a tolerably correct opinion as to the effect, which it produced in the world. I had an opportunity of knowing the sentiments, on this subject, of the officers of the executive government in America, of the members of

* Debrett's Parl. Rpts. vol. 43, p. 421.

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the legislature, and, in one way or other, of nearly all the highest and best informed men in that country, and I do solemnly declare, that I never heard the persecution of Mr. Reeves spoken of but with the utmost indignation, or contempt, of the parties by whom it was urged. One gentleman in particular I knew, at whose table Mr. Pitt had, for many years, constantly been the first toast, and who, after reading the debate, to which I have above alluded, not only discontinued this mark of his respect, but who actually new-named a country seat, which, in his enthusiastic admiration of the English minister, he had called *Pittsbill*.—With respect to myself, the impression which was produced by the reading of that debate is never to be effaced. I had but just then entered on the career of politics. I had published only two or three of my pamphlets. Full as I was of admiration of Mr. Pitt, ardent as was my zeal in defence of his measures and his character, I leave you to guess, Sir, at my feelings upon hearing of the treatment of Mr. Reeves, of the *abandoning* and the *persecuting* of the founder of the LOYAL ASSOCIATIONS! It operated, on the powers of my mind, like one of those shocks that buries the blood back again to the heart! “Ah, ah!” said I, “is it thus that *loyalty* is rewarded in England? Is it thus that Mr. Pitt supports those who support him? If so, it is better to leave *loyalty* and Mr. Pitt to support themselves.”—Unable, however, to resist the desire of opposing the enemies of my country, I continued those labours which had already been attended with no inconsiderable degree of success; but, at the same time, I made a solemn resolution never to expose myself to the ingratitude experienced by Mr. Reeves.

Now, Sir, though you may ask, with a sneer, *what harm did all this do to Mr. Pitt?* it amounts, at least, to a strong corroborative proof, not only of the injustice towards Mr. Reeves, but of the *evil consequences* of that injustice. We Philadelphians knew nothing of the persecuted gentleman. None of us ever expected to see him. We were strongly prepossessed in favour of every thing said and done by Mr. Pitt. And yet, I can truly declare, that this transaction did, in America, at least, more injury to the character of Mr. Pitt than any other act of his administration, not excepting those acts which were regarded as hostile, and which certainly were highly injurious to that country. And, observe, Sir, that America was the only foreign nation where the real merits of the case could possibly be well understood. There our language is si-

ken; there our laws prevail; there the people had been accustomed minutely to discuss the principles of the British government; and, there, with a loud and unanimous voice, the persecution of Mr. Reeves was condemned. If you tell me, that, in spite of this condemnation; in spite of the distrust, which the abandoning Mr. Reeves may have excited both at home and abroad, in the breasts of both writers and statesmen; if you tell me, that, in spite of all these, and of whatever other evils I can attribute to the adoption of your advice, Mr. Pitt is still a great man, and that, come to Parliament when he will, a majority is still in his favour; if you tell me this, I beg leave to remind you, that a minister may preserve *his own power* unimpaired, while *that of his country* is crumbling into dust; and that, a majority in Parliament will not, when the hour arrives, parry the balls of Buonaparté. Amidst all the heinous and innumerable crimes of the French revolutionists, they have rigidly and uniformly observed that most essential national virtue, *fidelity to their adherents*; and that we have neglected this virtue is, unfortunately, but too notorious. France has constantly protected the rebels of other countries who joined her standard, while we have, on all pressing occasions, as constantly abandoned the royalists fighting under ours:—France has exalted the rank and extended the dominions of the princes who espoused her cause, while those who relied upon the protection of England have lost both their territories and their rank:—France has undertaken a new war for the sake of her partizans in Switzerland; England, rather than delay the conclusion of peace for an hour, basely abandoned the Royalists of La Vendée:—France demanded, and obtained, the release of a British subject, condemned for high treason by a British court of justice; England abandoned and persecuted the founder of her loyal associations:—France is the mistress of the world, and England is ready to crouch at her feet.—Such, Sir, has been the course, and such the consequences, of that “*safe*” system of policy, which you and other “*prudent*” men imposed upon Mr. Pitt, which met with an ample exemplification in the abandoning and persecuting of Mr. Reeves, and which, unless it be rooted out of the heart and the mind of the government, must and will inevitably lead to the destruction of the monarchy and the subjugation of the people.—I have the honour to be, Sir, yours, &c.

London, 25th Jan. 1803. WM. COBBETT.

*Ode for the New Year, 1803, by H. J. Pye, Esq.
Poet Laureat.*

Though the tempestuous winds no more
The main with angry pinions sweep,

Though raging 'gainst the sounding shore
 No longer howl the impetuous seas;
 But soothed to rest, the billows sleep,
 Save where soft Zephyr's tepid breeze
 Fans with its silken wing the rippling deep;
 Yet still with unremitting eye
 The pilot marks the uncertain sky,
 The seaman watches still the gale,
 Prompt or to spread or furl the sail,
 Mindful of many a danger past,
 Tost by the turbid wave, check'd by the adverse
 blast.

II.

Not keen Suspicion's jealous glance,
 Not fierce Contention's feverish rage,
 Shall bid Britannia point the lance
 New Realms to grasp, new Wars to wage.
 In conscious rectitude elate,
 In conscious power securely great,
 While she beholds the dang'rous tide
 Of battle's crimson wave subside,
 Though firm she stands in act to dare
 The storms of renovated War,
 Her ready sword, her lifted shield,
 Provoke not the ensanguin'd field,
 More than the wary pilot's cautions urge
 The wind's tempestuous strife, or swell the foam-
 ing surge.

III.

O from our Shores be exiled far
 Ambition's wild and restless crew,
 Who through the bleeding paths of War
 False Glory's dæmon-form pursue,
 Whose burning thirst, still unsubdu'd
 By deluges of guiltless blood,
 Glares on the regions round with fiend-like eyes,
 While scarce a vanquish'd world its wish sup-
 plies;
 Yet ne'er may Sloth's inglorious charm
 Unnerve the manly Briton's arm,
 Nor Sophistry's insidious art
 E'er lull the manly Briton's heart.
 May Peace, with Plenty by her side,
 Long, long o'er Albion's fields preside;
 Long may her breath, with placid gale,
 Of Commerce swell the happy sail;
 But roused in Justice's sacred cause,
 Insulted rights or violated laws,
 Still may her sons with fierce delight
 Flame in the gleamy van of fight,
 Spread o'er the tented plain, or brave
 With warlike prow the hostile wave;
 And on each firm ingenuous breast
 Be this eternal truth impress'd,
 Peace only sheds perennial joys on those
 Who guard with dauntless arm the blessings Peace
 bestows.

We have inserted the above ode for the purpose of shewing our readers to what an excess of party malignity your "modest, well-meaning, conscientious" men will sometimes go. The reader will at once perceive, that Mr. Pye has been ordered to put into rhyme the creed of the "safe politicians;" and, it must be confessed, that his version is perfectly correct, though part of it is little more than a paraphrase of a passage in the *Moniteur*, as will, we trust, clearly appear from the following comparative view:

PORT LAUREAT.

MONITEUR.

O from our shores be
 exil'd far ambition's wild England, Lord Grenville,

and restless crew, who
 through the bleeding paths
 of war false glory's dæ-
 mon-form pursue, whose
 burning thirst, still un-
 subdu'd by deluges of guilt-
 less blood, glares on the
 regions round with fiend-
 like eyes, while scarce a
 vanquish'd world their
 wish supplies. — Yet
 ne'er may sloth's inglori-
 ous charm unnerve the
 manly Briton's arm, &c.

Lord Minto; and Mr.
 Windham, have nothing
 left but their remorse,
 which pursues them, tor-
 ments them, and gives to
 all their speeches that
 furious tone which re-
 veals the state of their
 minds. Trouble, disorder,
 and blood can alone re-
 lieve them; they wish
 for trouble, disorder, and
 blood. Their speeches
 are those which the ce-
 lebrated Milton has put
 into the mouth of Satan.

It is impossible not to perceive here an exact coincidence of sentiment between the ode of his Majesty's poet laureat, and the columns of that infamous gazette, in which his Majesty has been styled a *rewarder of assassins*. Mr. Pye has been made (for we never can suppose it a voluntary act) to add his mite to the united exertions of the ministry and the old opposition, and the chief object of which exertions is to *lull the nation to sleep*, an enterprize for which, as appears from the very circumstantial relation of a celebrated modern critic, the Laureat, is wonderfully gifted.—"Mr. Pye," says the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, "with the best intentions, if not with the very best poetry, translated the verses of Tyrtæus the Spartan. They were designed to produce animation throughout the kingdom, and amongst the militia in particular. Several of the reviewing generals were much impressed with their weight and importance; and, at a board of general officers, an experiment was agreed upon, which unfortunately failed. They were read aloud at Warley Common, and at Barham Downs, by the adjutants, at the head of five different regiments, at each camp, and much was expected. But before they were half finished, all the front ranks, and as many of the others as were within hearing or verse shot, dropped their arms suddenly, and were all found fast asleep! Marquis Townshend, who never approved of the scheme, said, with his usual pleasantry, that the first of all poets observed, that, *'sleep is the brother of death.'*"—Remembering this curious fact, and fearing that the nation might be roused by the exertions of the "new opposition," the Richmond Park ministry seem to have put Mr. Pye's soporific powers in a state of requisition; and, if we are not misinformed, the zeal with which they have been exerted on this occasion, is to obtain the laureat the honour of a place in Mr. Gillray's excellent caricature, called "BRITANNIA'S LULLABY," of which the

principal personage is, Mr. Addington in the character of an *old woman*.

A HINT TO "THE FAMILY."

SIR,—Give me leave through the channel of your paper, which I know will not escape the notice of our safe and prudent ministers, to recommend to their attention a project which a late measure of theirs has suggested;—namely, the appointment of a board of commissioners for executing the offices of the Lord Chancellor and of the Judges, (they still retaining their rank and emoluments) with new and suitable powers, and the commissioners to consist of the friends of *the family* solely, with Mr. Hiley Addington, decorated with a peerage, at their head, only to save appearances, it may be proper to have one eminent lawyer amongst them.—I am sure the utility of this project must be obvious to you, Mr. Cobbett, and therefore, shall not enter at large into my reasons in support of it: one circumstance, however, I cannot allow to escape me, it will render any communication with the present Lord Chancellor in a great degree unnecessary to his wise brother chancellor, and consequently prevent the measures of the latter being crossed in the House of Lords, as on certain late occasions.—It will be proper to allow Mr. Hiley Addington, as first commissioner, an annual salary of at least £20,000, and I recommend this in preference to applying to a parliament for a remuneration, because it being barely possible that the people of this country may be roused from their present lethargy to a just sense of the obligations they owe *the family*, it may not be quite prudent to trust to a future parliament for a suitable provision for so respectable a member of it.—Perhaps, several strong objections may be urged by the gentlemen of the law, as well as others, to my plan; but I profess, that after the most serious consideration, I can find none more weighty than these which have been made against a late bill, and so satisfactorily answered by the friends of *the family*.—For myself, Mr. Cobbett, unless I see in the True Briton or Sun, of which you need not doubt I am a constant reader, an advertisement calling me to take upon myself the office of secretary to the New Board, I shall, if my scheme be adopted, content myself with reflecting on the good I have done my country, and the proof I have given of my attachment to *the family*.—How far the appointment of a like commission to take care of the affairs of the church may be proper, I leave to wiser heads to determine, and as to the other learned profession I will by no means touch on that, lest I should be supposed to make

any particular allusion to the first great man of *the family*. I remain, &c. &c.

Prescot, 22d Jan. 1803.

MARCUS.

HONDURAS.

The following paper has been some few days in print, and is understood to come from the parties, who are more immediately interested in the trade to Honduras.

The report of a difference between this government and the court of Spain, on the subject of the British establishments at Honduras, is now very generally credited.—Colonel Barrow, who is now gone out to take the command of the British settlement at Honduras, is the same officer who, in the year 1798, with Captain Moss, of the Navy, since dead, repelled a very formidable attack of the Spaniards under General O'Neil, consisting of a numerous land force, and a flotilla of boats. But this armament was compelled to retreat with considerable loss. In consequence of this success, the British boundaries were considerably extended; their extension, indeed, was perfectly necessary, for we had so cleared the country in our possession of logwood, that any more which we wanted to procure was got at so great an expense, on account of its distance from the coast, that it enhanced its cost almost beyond what it would bear. This being the case, and having, by right of conquest, acquired such additional territory, and in such a favourable situation, that we could not only cut, but transport it down the rivers to the coast, at a comparatively trivial expense; it became an object of the greatest importance to have this additional acquisition secured in the treaty of peace.—To this end, the merchants at Honduras made the proper representations to their correspondents in London, and, in consequence of this, a deputation from the committee of the principal merchants of London, trading to Honduras, immediately after the preliminaries of peace were signed, waited upon Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, with a memorial, representing their situation, and praying that it might not be lost sight of, but receive every requisite confirmation in the usual form. Another deputation of the same committee, waited also upon Lord Hawkesbury, with another memorial to the same effect, while the definitive treaty was drawing up, and long before it was signed. The British ministry cannot, therefore, plead ignorance on this important subject.—It is unfortunate, perhaps, that nothing was stipulated upon this subject in the treaty of Amiens. We do not mean, that by the omission or by the general abrogation of former treaties, our right to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras is cancelled.—But negotiating with parties who were extremely likely to cavil, it would have been wise to anticipate, as far as possible, every ground of dispute. The French negotiated throughout, as Lord Bolingbroke says of them, during the negotiation of the peace of Utrecht, "like pedlars, or, what is worse, like attorneys." It was necessary, therefore, to bind them down like pettifoggers, who wished to take advantage of every flaw.—But, regretting that these precautions were not employed, we assert, with confidence, that the pretensions of the Spaniards to molest our "establishment" at Honduras, are most captious and unwarrantable. It is true, that in treaties of peace, as in all other positive contracts, obligations not specified are not to be easily presumed. But treaties that have once existed, though not perpetual in all their stipulations, have, and ought to have, permanent consequences. The state of possession in Europe

is, in a thousand ways, the effect of cessions, exchanges introduced by treaties no longer in force. The very act of a new treaty, between states at least, ratifies and confirms the state of possession in things not altered. It is only the new cessions, the new state of possession, that becomes the subject of convention. Trinidad is ceded by Spain, by the treaty of Amiens. Our rights to cut wood, &c. in the Bay of Honduras, a thing of less value, perhaps, than the island ceded, are not mentioned, but are they, therefore, given up? Had Spain deprived us of that possession during the war, and if no stipulation had been made in the treaty of Amiens for restoring it, there might have been some pretext for supposing that the right was wholly extinguished. But this was not the case. We continued in full possession of every thing we had previously enjoyed. That possession, such as it existed, is confirmed, not abrogated, by the new t. of peace. Our rights to cut logwood in the B. of H. therefore, stand just where they did. This principle is so clear, that it is scarcely necessary to quote any authority for it. "The non-renewal of treaties," says Mably, "gives no right to reclaim a domain which has been ceded; for," says he, "the treaty subsequent to that which is not renewed, establishes the respective and actual state of the contracting parties; and it would be a violation of that treaty to attempt to enter upon the possessions ceded by a preceding treaty, under pretence that it is no longer binding." The rule applies equally to such a right as we formerly enjoyed, as to a right of absolute sovereignty.—It is clear, therefore, that supposing the right of this country to cut logwood at Honduras had been established originally by the Conv. of the 14th of July, 1786, the latest upon the subject, that right would be now as perfect and complete as could be desired. Spain might just as well pretend that we have no right to Jamaica or Gibraltar, because the treaty of Madrid of 1667, in which the possession of Jamaica is only recognized, and the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, where Gibraltar is ceded, are not renewed. But, in fact, the right of this country to cut wood at Honduras is not so much created as explained by treaty. It is a right clothed with a long possession. As far as we recollect, the first recognition of it is in the treaty of 1763, renewed in the treaty of 1783, and explained by the Conv. of 1786. It is there mentioned, and always has been considered as something short of dominion or sovereignty.—It is a sort of servitude of a very real and substantial nature; and, after being so long enjoyed, so repeatedly recognized, it is impossible for any publicist to argue that it is abrogated by the silence of the treaty of Amiens. Indeed the argument, we apprehend, goes very much in favour of this country, if we are to admit general reasoning to fix the nature and extent of our right. We do not know that it might not very fairly be argued, that by the silence of the treaty of Amiens we are in a better situation than we were. We apprehend that our servitude, our tolerance, our precarious habitation (for we had not power to build a fort or keep a garrison, &c.) is converted into a full and complete dominion, as far as conquest can confer it. We have remained in possession during the war: we have built forts; we have strengthened our position. The Spaniards, seeing all this, chose to be silent at Amiens! Is it to be presumed, however, that by our silence we abandon an old contested privilege, retained and strengthened during the war? The Spaniards, by the treaty, confirm generally all our possessions in

all parts of the world, not noticed and altered by the treaty of Amiens. They therefore acknowledged our possession as it stood. If they are to draw the point of Honduras into litigation, we deny that they have a claim of right, or that we are obliged to sue for an indulgence. Precedents are in our favour. The Spaniards by the treaty of 1667 did not choose to cede formally Jamaica, which Cromwell had taken from them, but they confirm generally our possessions. Could they pretend, did they pretend, that after the conclusion of the treaty of 1667, they could have given our settlers in Jamaica a notice to quit? Certainly not. In the present case they have no more right.—If they were displeased with our continuance at Honduras, they ought to have stipulated by treaty for our removal. That they have not done. They ought to be very glad if we agreed to hold our rights to Honduras just as they formerly stood. If they quarrel about the matter, ministers ought to give orders to strengthen our position at Honduras, send out reinforcements, and bid the Spaniards defiance. This we are disposed to think should be the course.—The case appears to be so plain, that we see no reason why the cavils of France (we cannot call it Spain) should be treated with much deference.—We have the right, we have the power, and Buonaparté should be taught that he must not domineer when he has not the ability to act. *There are fifty chicaneries of this sort in both the Indies, and the best way is to treat them in the beginning, with contempt, and to resist them with vigour.*—If ministers accept the establishment of Honduras on the old footing, they will shew much condescension. They ought to insist peremptorily on our right, and if they revert to the old footing, they ought to obtain an equivalent. *This tone would speedily bring the French and Spaniards to reason.*

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Letter from the Capt. Gen. of Guadaloupe to the French Min. of Marine and Colonies. Dated Basse-Terre, Nov. 15, 1802.

CITIZEN MINISTER—I have already had the honour to give you an account of the crimes committed on the night between the 6th and 7th of October, by a band of brigands, of all colours, who assassinated twenty-three citizens in different quarters of Guadaloupe.—A special tribunal was charged with the prosecution and trial of these crimes, connected with a conspiracy, which the punishment of the chiefs has extinguished.—The principal of these conspirators were Millet, Lagirardine, Jean Barbe, and Peter Barse, all blacks, stained with every species of crimes.—The first two destroyed themselves after they were condemned to suffer death; the third was executed with his accomplices.—Since these examples the colony of Guadaloupe has been much improved in regard to internal tranquillity.—Those from whom the colony must still be freed are composed of the remains of rebels, wandering about in the woods, where they are daily perishing by famine and want.—If there still exists in the communes of this island a few partisans of these crimes, they conceal themselves; but I have taken such measures as will soon enable me, with certainty, to discover them.—I had the honour to inform you, that I had received intelligence of various bodies of rebels who were forming, in the islands of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, new plots against Guadaloupe.—I have obtained certain information of this circumstance, by the return of the frigate La Didon, which I had dispatched to demand these rebels to be given up by the respective governors

of these two colonies.—Some vessels belonging to rebels, who had escaped from Guadaloupe, and which were employed for keeping up a communication with their confidential friends in that island, were there found. One of them had still on board a small quantity of ammunition, part of which they had thrown into the sea when they saw the French frigate approaching. But notwithstanding the precipitation employed in this business, they had not time to complete it when the frigate cast anchor close to them. The brigands abandoned the vessel, and went to conceal themselves in the woods. M. de Watterstorff, commandant of the Danish Islands, has given strict orders for their being arrested. But at St. Bartholomew, M. Hankerheim, the governor, did not think himself authorised to pursue the same steps.—I send you my correspondence with the Swedish governor, in order that the government may deliberate on the conduct, which the tranquillity of the colonies requires from all the powers of Europe; for it is not certainly the intention of the Swedish government to give an asylum in its possessions to brigands, who, after having polluted with all their crimes the French colonies, hope to make preparations with impunity for the commission of new ones, in a neighbouring territory in friendship with the republic. Health and respect, (Signed) LACROSSE.

[This letter is followed by another from Gateau, commissioner of government in the special tribunal of Guadaloupe, to rear-admiral Lacrosse, containing an account of the trial and death of the principal conspirators.] "The suicide committed by Jean Barbe," says the commissioner, "in the prison of Saint Anne, proves how much he dreaded the justice of the tribunal, and the sudden death of Girardine in that of Point-à-Petre gives us reason at least to presume that he wished to avoid the shame of punishment."

The examination of Peter Barse, says he, who alone had the courage to survive the confession of his crimes, will make known to you the plot which they had foolishly formed, when their minds were heated by the spirituous liquors with which they often got intoxicated at the house of Millet and Lagirardine. You will, no doubt, be convinced, with the tribunal, that this conspiracy was concerted only by these three villains, who not being able to conceive the hope of long exercising authority over the rebels, would have left the colony in their power, after getting possession of their plunder.—The colony has to lament the death of 23 of its inhabitants, who perished on that disastrous day. The avenging justice of the tribunal has reached and destroyed their assassins. Unfortunately it has not yet been able to discover the places where they buried the gold and silver, which they took from the victims. It is estimated at 250,000 francs. It was an impenetrable secret with these villains, who always make false declarations.

Letter from Rr. Adm. Villeneuve, Commander in Chf. of the forces in the Windward Islands and at Cayenne, to the Min. of Marine and Colonies.—Dated on board the Jemappe, Nov. 21, 1802.

Citizen Minister—I arrived in this harbour on the 15th, having sailed from Point-à-Petre, in Guadaloupe, on the 9th. I passed at Basse-Terre the Capt. General Lacrosse, and the colonial prefect Lescallier, with their whole suite, and then proceeded to this island.—The state of Guadaloupe appeared to me more satisfactory than it is generally supposed to be in France, and even in Martinico. Agriculture is in full activity through-

out the whole of Grande-Terre, and all the western and northern part of the island. Cabesterre alone, which has in general been burnt, appears to be in a state of distress. Sugar, and other colonial productions, are in such abundance at Point-à-Petre, that the magazines are entirely full, and casks are even seen in the streets. The freight to France is excessively dear, and vessels for transporting the goods are not to be found.—The war of the blacks is reduced to nothing. It consists merely of a few excursions of miserable wretches, who issue from the woods to carry off provisions from the plantations. The troops still left, with reinforcements which have lately arrived, will be sufficient to insure the safety of the island, and you may rest assured, that in a little time, the brigands will all be seized in their last retreats.—Health and respect. (Signed) VILLENEUVE.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Constantinople, Dec. 10.—The French Colonel Sebastiani, who has been received by the Pacha of Cairo in the most distinguished manner, has embarked at Damietta, on board the French frigate Cornelié, to go to Syria. He will visit all the principal ports of the Levant.—Yesterday evening Ghalib Effendi, our late Ambassador Extraordinary at Paris, arrived here, and brought with him the French Ratification of the Treaty concluded between France and the Porte.—The number of troops, as well Mamelukes as Arabs, which the victorious Beys in Egypt have with them in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, is about 4000.

Loretto, Dec. 10.—Yesterday the Image of the Holy Virgin, which had been carried to France during the revolution, was brought back hither from Rome, and welcomed with the discharge of cannon, and ringing of bells. It was carried on a superb frame, borne by eight bishops, and placed in the Holy House.

Florence, Dec. 27.—Our Sovereign and his family were at Valence on the 11th, and were to set out for Carthage on the 13th, in order to return to Tuscany.

Ratisbon, Jan. 6.—Yesterday the Protocol was opened in the 2 First Col. of the Em. for the ratif. of the Gen. Conclusum of the Dep. In the Elec. Col. Saxony and Branden. have voted. The latter has also given his vote in the Col. of Prin. for Magdebourg and his other posses. In the 2d Col. have also voted Saxe Weimar, Saxe Gotha, and Eisenach, Brunswick Wolfenbittel, Hesse-Cassel, Baden, Wurtemberg, Lubeck, Holstein, Oldenburg, and Salm; and also the Counts of Witteravia, Franconia, and Westphalia. All the Representatives of the Eccl. States were absent except those of the Principality of Ratisbon. The latter are, the Baron d'Albini, and the Ct. de la Tour. They were legitimated on the 6th in the quality of Sub-Del. to his Highness the E. A. Chan, as provisory possessor of the Prin. of Ratisbon. All the votes given have been in favour of the complete ratif. of the Gen. Conclusum. The min. of Lubeck, in giving his vote, reserved himself with respect to the regulation of the interests of his Prince, and referred to the mem. which he lately addressed on that subject to the Dep.—In the Col. of Imp. Cities, Nuremberg is charged provisorily with the Directory, until something shall be agreed upon the subject.

Stuttgart, Jan. 7.—If we may believe several of the German Gazettes, very important Neg. have been for some time on foot at Paris, between Lord Whitworth and the Min. Talleyrand. They relate in part to the Evac. of Malta and Egypt,

and to the affairs of Parma and Etruria. England exacts from France a promise, that in any case she shall not send troops either to Malta or Egypt; but the French government has rejected such a proposition, because it is not mentioned in the treaty of Amiens. As to the affairs of Italy, Lord Whitworth has also received an answer in the negative; and so much the more precise, as it was never intended to treat with the Court of London on the affairs of the Continent, that Court not having in the Neg. for Peace which took place with Austria, taken any part with respect to the affairs of the Ger. Emp. or Italy.

Hague, Jan. 8.—Gen. Victor and the Chief of the Staff, Cesar Berthier, will immediately set out for Helvoetsluys, to embark with the French Exp. for Louisiana. The fine Corps of Guides, selected by the Gen. from the Dragoons of Breda, consists of 160 men, who take their horses with them. This Corps will be commanded by the nephew of the Ambas. Semonville, Cit. Carnoville, who has been the Diplomatic Eleve of the Fr. Legation. The number of transports in this Exp. it is now understood, will be only 18.

Berne, Jan. 9.—Various reports are in circulation respecting the Swiss Constitution, of which nothing is yet known for a certainty.—We learn anew, that there is a question of uniting to France the Canton of Lemman, and a part of that of Basle; and this report gains the more credit, because, though the French are emptying the arsenals throughout Switzerland, and taking the milit. stores, &c. to Lausanne, yet no such measure has been adopted with regard to the arsenal of Basle.—The French troops in Swi. have received rein. particularly cavalry. The 6th reg. of horse chas. have arrived from Genoa at Berne, where they will remain in garrison. Two squad. of the 12th reg. of hussars have received the same destination.

Berne, Jan. 13.—The courier from Paris who arrived yesterday, brought us the constitution of our canton decreed by the deputies, and approved of by the First Consul. The canton is divided into districts, and the districts into tribes. The citizens of the canton, enjoying a fortune of 1000f. have alone the right of voting. Each tribe names an elector out of fifty citizens. The union of those electors forms the electoral body of the canton, which names the grand council, composed of two hundred and ninety-nine members. It is to that council that the legislative power is confided. It appoints to all places. Twenty-seven of its members form the petty council, from which are to be taken two avoyers, a treasurer, and a chancellor, who form, with the two oldest and the two youngest counsellors, the executive committee. The grand council appoints from among its members those who are to form a tribunal of civil appeal, and a criminal tribunal.—The same letters announce, that the cantonal organizations of Basle, Fribourg, Lucerne, and Soleure, are also completed; and that they resemble those of Zurich and Berne. The most remarkable difference between the old and new constitution of the cantons, formerly aristocratical, is the political equality between all the citizens who compose them, the application of which is to be found chiefly in the composition of the electoral bodies.—The provision by which the exercise of the administrative and that of the judicial power are confided to the same body, has excited many remonstrances. It is supposed, that provision will be changed.—We learn further, that the establishment of a general Helvetic diet, to assemble once a year, and to con-

sist of one deputy from each canton, is agreed upon. To establish a certain equality among the different cantons, the deputies of the greater cantons are to have different voices in proportion, respectively, to their population. The meetings of the general diet will be in turns, at Zurich, Berne, Basle, Soleure, Fribourg, and Lucerne. The deputy for the place at which the diet meets, will be president for the time being.

Brussels, Jan. 13.—It is reported, that the King of Prussia is about to visit his possessions in Westphalia, and that he and Buonaparté will have an interview, during their intended tours, which are to take place at the same time.—15. The inhab. of Antwerp are preparing trium. arches for the reception of the Consul, on his journey into our depart. They wish to testify to the restorer of the commerce of the Scheldt, their gratitude for the benefits which it confers, and which promise to restore the splendor which that city enjoyed in the 15th century.

Hamburg, Jan. 14.—By authentic accounts from Berlin, of the 11th inst. Prince Ruspoli has at last determined to accept of the grand mastership of the order of Malta, having been invited to do so by a brief of the pope, and having had the same request made to him by some great powers. His highness desires, however, the compliance of France with certain conditions he thought proper to propose, previously to his entering on the functions of that exalted dignity. Should he persist in his refusal, it is reported, that the order of Malta will be suppressed. The Teutonic Order will, it is said, share the same fate.

Hague, Jan. 18.—The following is the text of the law relative to the loan, which is considered to be of such great importance to commerce in general.—The amount of the loan shall not exceed the deficit in the rev. of the year 1803, for the expenditure of the state during that year. The annual rent of the capital is not to exceed 1,400,000 florins, and the obligations which are to be delivered to the cred. shall bear but an int. of 3 per cent.—Those who shall subscribe to the loan, one Batavian rescription of the nominal value of 1000 florins, payable after the peace, shall, by adding to it 800 florins in specie, receive three national obligations of 1000 florins each, bearing 3 per cent. interest. Those who shall subscribe an obligation of the E. I. Comp. payable, with 800 florins in specie, shall also receive three national obligations, each of 1000 florins, at 3 per cent.—The interest in arrears due in the year 1800, shall be made good to the sub. and paid out of the 800 florins, which they are to add to their obligations. All the Bat. rescriptions payable after the peace, which shall not be subscribed to the new loan by the 22d of next Sep. shall be converted into perpetual stock at 4 per cent.—The above-mentioned India obligations which shall not be subscribed during the year 1803, shall not be payable (*unless* *baar*), and shall be considered as if their numbers had not been drawn out of the lottery. Some further provisions are to be made, by which certain other funds may be subscribed, which bear an interest of 2½ per cent.—An obligation of 1000 florins at 3 per cent. will then be delivered in exchange for an obligation of those funds of the nominal value of 700 florins, but 200 florins in specie must be added.—To insure a capital, necessary to pay the interest of this loan, there is to be an increase of a 10th, or 10 per cent. upon all duties on the following articles: wine, vinegar, distilled liquors, mineral waters, tobacco, beer, cattle, horned cattle, butter, salt, soap, wood, coals, and turf.

horses, seeds, coffee and tea consumed, servants, and articles of luxury.—The increase of 10 per cent. will be only for two years: after which it will be replaced by general imposts. The new tax is to take place from the 1st of July.—The tax upon the net produce of successions is to be increased 10 per cent.—When this measure was determined upon in the legislature, there were 14 for and 13 against the sanctioning it. The people complain openly of the increase upon the taxes.

Paris, June 20.—The con. concluded on the 25th ult. will not be officially published till after the exchange of the rati. but the substance of it is in general circulation at Ratisbon. The treaty is signed by the Russian as well as the French and Imp. ministers. Austria cedes the Ortenau to the Duke of Modena, and receives in exchange the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen, to be incorporated with the Austrian monarchy. The G. Duke invited to renounce Trent and Brixen, obtains the bishopric of Eichstadt, except the six superior Bailiwicks of that country, which are to be united to the principality of Wurtzburgh; the G. Duke also obtains a part of the Up. Palatinate; but he formally engages not to fortify Eichstadt. Bavaria is to preserve the six superior Bailiwicks of the bishopric, but is to indemnify the G. Duke by ceding property which the Elector possesses as D. of D. Ponts, in Bohemia. The Elector keeps all his possessions on the Inn. The town of Passau is to be ceded to him by Austria. The Elector A. Chancellor obtains all the tolls of the Rhine, on the right bank. Prussia is to keep the part of the territory of Nuremburg, which she occupied last war.

Paris, Jan. 21.—The journey of the First Consul into the nine departments of Belgium is determined upon, and will take place sooner than was expected. The young men of the different towns through which he is to pass, are forming themselves into military companies, to receive him with due distinction.—We have received intel. that the Emperor ratified, on the 5th instant, the Conv. concluded on the 25th of Dec. relative to the Supp. Indem. to the G. Duke. The exchange of the Ratif. is to take place at Paris.—All the attempts made by the Imp. Cabinet to enter into a new defin. alliance with Russia have totally failed.—During the year ending the 22d of Sept. 1802, the number of births in Paris were 21,018, of which 5,499 were illegitimate. The number of marriages, during the same period, were 4,694 of divorcees 902. The number of deaths were 20,390.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Notice to the Masters of American Vessels. Dated American Consulate, London, Jan. 24, 1803.

Official information (from Tunis) have just been received, that the Tripolitan Admiral, Lisle, having two zebecs and a kirlanghie under his command, is ready for sea, and intends passing the Streights, to cruise in the Atlantic. It is probable that he may be joined by a zebec which has already sailed, and by another zebec, a polacre, and a kirlanghie, which are nearly ready for sea. With a view of decoying such vessels as may unfortunately fall in his way, he has clothed his crews in blue jackets, overalls, and hats.

DOMESTIC.

Dublin, Jan. 19. A requisition of several magistrates of the county of Tipperary has been made to the deputy clerk of the peace, to summon a special session of the peace, to be held at Clonmell,

on the 21st instant, to consider the state of that county, and the propriety of applying to gov. to have certain parts of it proclaimed, agreeably to the provisions of the Insurrection Act. Jan. 20.—In our last, we had the satisfaction of stating, that through the exertions of Lord Donoughmore, tranquillity had been completely established in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary. We have now the further satisfaction of adding, that his ldp.'s spirited example has excited an emulation amongst the noblemen and gent. of county of Limerick to pursue a similar conduct.—Early on Saturday morning last, the Northern mail-coach was attacked near Drogheda by seven armed men, who, after firing several shots, and wounding the coachman severely, robbed the coach and passengers, and carried off the bags. Rewards have been offered for apprehending the robbers.—The same night the post-boy with the Wexford mail was robbed on Galloping Green by two persons armed.—On Monday night, the Limerick mail-coach was attacked at Cherrphill, near Kildare, by a large gang of robbers, who fired several shots at the coach and horses. The attack was gallantly resisted by the guard, who returned shot for shot, and having killed two of the robbers, carried on the mail in safety. One of the horses was severely wounded.

Intelligence from Gibraltar of the 29th ult. gives an account of a mutiny in the garrison. The following may be relied on as an exact statement of the circumstances.—It is the custom, in every regiment in the army, to pay to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, at the end of every two months, whatever balances may be due to them on their several accounts of subsistence. On the 24th of Dec. the 1st reg. of foot (commonly called the Royal Scotch) being the corps of which H. R. H. the Governor is himself the Colonel, having received their balances, got drunk, and insisted upon going into the town. This having been strictly forbidden, and the prohibition having been understood by the men as proceeding from the adjutant, they, with arms in their hands, forced their way out of the barracks, and, being inflamed with anger against the adjutant, their first object was to seek for him, with an avowed intention of taking his life. Failing in their bloody purpose, they proceeded to the barracks of the 25th regiment, which, being composed chiefly of their countrymen, they thought the more likely to join them; but, fortunately they were disappointed. From the barracks of the 25th reg. they went to those of the 54th reg. where they were received by a fire from the grenadier company, which wounded several of them. Here ended the affair of that night. The mutineers returned to their barracks, and the next day, the Duke, after properly animadverting on their conduct, thought proper to pardon it.—On the 26th of Dec. however, the 25th reg. who had behaved so well on the 24th of the month, having now received their balances, and having also gotten drunk, broke out in exactly the same manner that the Royals had done before; and, as the grenadiers of the 54th reg. were marching to assist in quelling this second mutiny, a party of artillery, drawn out for the same purpose, being ordered to fire on some of the mutineers of the 25th, unfortunately killed one man of the 54th, wounded several others of the same reg. killing, at the same time, two of the mutineers.—On the 29th of Dec. when the latest intelligence came off, a general court-martial was sitting upon the trial of fourteen or fifteen of the ring-leaders.—The

mutiny, from every thing we have seen and heard, appears to have had nothing of disloyalty, or of politics, in its motives.

On the 14th inst. pursuant to advertisement, a general meeting was held, at the London Tavern, of the BRITISH CREDITORS IN THE FRENCH FUNDS. —Mr. IMPEY took the chair, and rose to explain the object for which the meeting had been convened. He began by advertizing to the memorial presented by the Committee in the name of the creditors at large to Lord Hawkesbury, and to the result of the different interviews which they had with his Lp. since the 20th Sept. ult. down to Wednesday last. It were unnecessary to enter into any detailed account of the preceding interviews, because what passed in that of Wednesday is contained the general result of all the others. Mr. Impey then proceeded to state to the meeting the grounds on which the Brit. creditors in the Fr. funds thought themselves justified in resting their claims, and which he had submitted to the consideration of the noble Sec. of State. These grounds he reduced to three heads:—1st. The conditions held out by the Fr. Gov. at different periods to induce foreigners to take a share in their loans, assuring them that in such cases they should not be subjected to the laws by which their natives might be bound.—2d. The stipulations of the commercial treaty, conformable to which a notice of twelve months should be given to Brit. subjects to remove their property in case of the breaking out of a war.—3d. The 14th article of the treaty of Amiens, by which it was stipulated, that all sequestrations on either side on funds, revenues, &c. shall be taken off immediately after the signature of the definitive treaty. None of these conditions had been complied with in the present case; but, notwithstanding the inconveniences the British holders of French stock had already suffered, yet they were willing, nor could they think it an unfair or presumptuous expectation, to be put on the same footing with the subjects of the French Gov. To the justice of that Gov. they were not reluctant to submit their claims, and if his Lordship approve and abet their views, it was their wish to forward a memorial to his Ex. Ld. Whitworth, praying him to present the same to the French Gov. hoping at the same time that his Lp. would kindly second their request to L. Whitworth, and exert his best endeavours to give weight to their representation. To the grounds here adduced, Lord Hawkesbury made a few objections, not, he said, such as his own mind would prompt him to urge; but which he thought it was as likely might be urged by others. In the first place it might be thought equitable that British creditors should be dealt by in the same manner as the Prussian or Austrian creditors. 2d. It might be said, that no stress could be laid on the commercial treaty of 1786, because that treaty could not be supposed to exist after the passing of the Alien Bill. 3d. The treaty of Amiens was supposed to have in view property in *cas*, and not that which had been sequestered, or the payment of which had been suspended.—Whatever might be the force of these objections, he was not inclined to lay any stress upon them; but all he imagined himself able to do was to recommend the matter to Lord Whitworth, and in that view he should write a letter to his Lp. requesting he might espouse the cause of the claimants in the manner which to him might appear best calculated to obtain their object.—With this determination of the noble Sec. of State the meeting seemed to be highly satisfied;

—and on the suggestion of Mr. Saunders, it was proposed that Sir Elijah Impey, who was now at Paris, should be requested to act as their agent, and that a power of at. should forthwith be sent to him for that purpose. This proposition was unanimously agreed to.

Bankrupts.—Chapman, J. Liverpool, merchant. Danks, T. Oldbury, innkeeper.—Fawcets, T. Old Change, merchant.—Short, J. Alfred-place, Southwark.—Delvalle, J. Savage's Gardens, tobacco-broker.—Miller, G. Bodmin, vintner.—Allen, J. Bartlett's Buildings, taylor.—Berger, T. Cockspur-street, hatter.—Jones, J. Penmaon, drover.—Midkiff, J. Liverpool, merchant.—Simpson, Elizabeth, Rolles Buildings, taylor.—Hindley, R. Salford, wine-merchant.—Sadler, Eliz. Westbromich, grocer.—Porwell, M. and W. Wells, shop-keepers.—Wrighton, D. Little Alne, flax-dresser.—Warren, J. Sandy's-street, weaver.

Marriages.—A few days ago at Ash, in the county of Surrey, the Rev. James Beaver, rector of Childry, Berks. to Miss Henrietta Halsey, eldest daughter of Henry Halsey, Esq. of Henley Park.

Deaths.—On Tuesday last, in Wimpole-street, the lady of Admiral Sir Peter Parker.—On Friday, in Manchester Square, Sir H. Lambert, Bart.—On the 12th, at Edinburgh, the Right Hon. Lady R. Bruce.

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THUR.
Bank Stock .	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr. C.R. An.	71½	71½	71½	—	71½	71½
3 per C. Con.	70½	71	70½	—	70½	70½
4 pr. C. Con.	86½	87½	86½	—	87½	87
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	100½	100½	100½	—	100½	100½
Bank L. Ann.	20¼	20½	20¼	—	20½	20¼
D ^s S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	102½	103½	102½	—	103½	103
Omnium ...	4½ dis	4½ dis	4½ dis	—	4½ dis	4½ dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. F. 36 2	2 us.	LEGHORN	50
D ^s , at sight 35 10		NAPLES	40½
ROTTERDAM 36 3	2 us.	GENOA	46
HAMBURGH 34 3	2½ us.	VENICE, 51 livres piccole	
ALTONA . . . 34 4	2½ us.	effective per £. ster.	
PARIS 1 day 24 8		LISBON	68½
PARIS 24 12	2 us.	OPORTO	68½
BOURDEAUX, 24 13		DUBLIN	13
CADIZ . . . 35½	eff.	BILBOA	35½
MADRID . . 35½	effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q. 46s. to 62s.		Hops per cwt. 200s to 224s	
Rye 35 . 38		Hay per load . . . 75 . 140	
Barley 24 . 28		Beef, per stone 4s. to 5s. 6d.	
Malt 43 . 47		Mutton 5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.	
Oats 15 . 22		Veal . . . 6s. 0d. to 7s. 6d.	
Pease (white) . . . 33 . 39		Pork . . . 4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.	
Beans (horse) . . . 34 . 38		Tallow 4s. 6d.	
Flour per sack . . 45 . 50		Av. of Sugar pr cw 37s. 2d.	
Seconds 40 . 45		Salt, per Bushel 13s. 10d.	
Coals per chal . . . 52 . 57		Bread 9½d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Towards the close of our last summary we made an extract or two from a paper, which appeared to us to have been published by the merchants immediately concerned in the trade to the B. of Honduras. That paper we have now (see p. 110) inserted entire. —It will be perceived, that these gentlemen, think their rights *unimpaired* by the non-renewal of former treaties. It is *our* opinion

that those rights are totally abrogated by that non-renewal; and, on some future occasion, when we have more room and time than we have at present, we shall offer to our readers the reasons, on which this opinion is founded. In the mean time, we shall here briefly state the opinions advanced in *Parliament*, by the opposers of the treaty of Amiens—Our right to the use of the limits, as settled and enjoyed before the war, was not asserted to be necessarily abandoned; but it was asserted, that the security of an express recognition, in this, and other similar cases, being omitted, every channel was left open to the ancient disputes of contradictory claims, and the possible decision of the sword, as any one of those points might be ground of a new war, or new humiliation in the abandonment of it. Mr. Windham put the argument very happily in his opening speech for taking the treaty into consideration. It was, he observed, “as if a man, in private life, having been quieted in the possession of an estate, by a solemn instrument under the hand and seal of the opposite party, should cancel the deed, or, when it had been cancelled, neglect to revive and renew it; and when his friends remonstrated with him, should answer: Oh; what signifies the deed? My right is as secure as ever. My solicitor and counsel tell me I have an excellent cause to go into court with. If I have not the deed, I have as fine a law-suit as heart can wish!” It was afterwards stated, by others on the same side, that they did not wholly dissent from the position, that the basis of the treaty being evidently the state of possession before the war, we ought to be considered as retaining that sort of usufructuary possession, which we previously had, however begun, and which we had in fact exercised before our first treaty with Spain relative to America, in 1670. But the main point was, whether the min. would defend this position by the last and best argument of kings and states. If so, it was said, our right to Honduras, though the weakest, in itself, of all our claims recognized by the former treaties (because it admitted the sovereignty to be in Spain) was not yet relinquished; but then, the min. must declare themselves ready to maintain this right by a new war, when they had declared, that so many more important objects were not worth the continuance of the war, with all the advantages which we then possessed, but which we had now given up; and, if it was worth a new war, why was it not worth insisting upon in the treaty, to prevent a new war, when we were bargaining for peace with a richer fund for the purchase than we ever possessed at

the most triumphant termination of any former contest?—These were the arguments used in *Parliament*, and that they were irresistible was clearly proved by the miserable defence which was opposed to them even by the Master of the Rolls.—But, what shall be said to the low trick of hiding from the *Parliament* and the nation the important circumstance, now first made public by the Honduras merchants, that we *had extended our limits during the war*, and that “this extension was become absolutely necessary, for we had so cleared the country, in our possession, of logwood, that any more which we wanted to procure was got at so great an expense, that it enhanced its cost almost beyond what it would bear,” and, that, in short, without the extension of limits, the settlement was *good for nothing to this country!* Not a word of this was the *Parliament* suffered to know, though, as it now appears, the Honduras merchants, had fully stated it in a memorial to Lord Hawkesbury, pending the negotiation of the treaty. The knowledge of this circumstance, so material to the just appreciation of the conditions of the treaty, because it rendered a positive and specific confirmation so essential, was closely hidden from those who were to decide on the merits of that treaty; and, if we are to judge from their arguments, it was not known to the Master of the Rolls or the *Ld. Chancellor*, or to Mr. Pitt! Look at all their speeches, and you will find, that they speak of Honduras as a settlement where *nothing is to be given up*; as a settlement *totally unaffected by the peace*. But now, behold, it appears, that the peace is to rob us of all that part of the settlement *which is of any value*; and, as we before observed, our readers may rest assured, that this will be seized on as a lucky pretext for withdrawing our settlers altogether: foreseeing that France will command it, we shall, as in the case of the *lilies*, prevent the command, by an *anticipated obedience!* Poor, miserable shift! As if the world were to be deceived by this! As if our motive were not seen through! As if a paltry subterfuge like this could save us for only one moment from the contempt of mankind! *

* When the hour comes to surrender this settlement, there will not be wanting a great number of persons to discover, just then, for the first time, as Lord Ellenborough did with respect to the *honour of the flag*, that it *never was good for any thing*, and that we ought to be glad to get rid of it.—By way of preparation against these Fox's arguments, we just state, that the trade to Honduras employed 1500 seamen, and 12,000 tons of shipping, and the population of the settlement is computed at 4000 souls, which necessarily consumed a large quantity of British manufactures, beside what found their way, through the settlement, into the Spanish territory, and were paid for in specie.

By turning to p. 119, our readers will find a sort of report respecting the state of the debts due to *British creditors in the French funds*. These stock-jobbers had, it would appear, entertained a notion, that the 14th article of the treaty, which brought us the "blessings of peace," would bring them the payment of their sequestrated stock, not recollecting that the word *pay* has long been abolished from the French language, except as it applies to those on whom the Republic may have demands. It is really a good jest, that these poor rich men should have taken in a serious sense that ironical article of the treaty! *Ld. Hawkesbury* and the honest *Talleyrand* must have fine diversion with them! "To the justice of the French gov. they are not *reluctant* to submit their claims." Poor creatures! they know well, that it is useless to appeal to any thing else. They know well, that the English government *dares* not stir a hand to assist them. "To the justice of the French gov. they were not," they said, "unwilling to submit their claims, and if his *Ldp.* approved and abet their views, it was their wish to forward a memorial to *Ld. Whitworth*, praying him to present the same to the French gov. *hoping*, at the same time, that *Ld. H.* would kindly second their request." If *Buonaparté* had the money to spare, it would be good sport to insist, that this *hoping, praying, submitting* crew should crawl upon all fours from *Calais* to *St. Cloud*, a condition of payment to which they would cheerfully submit.—The language of these people furnishes a striking proof of the fallen state of this nation. In general, no persons are so bold and clamorous as your monied men, who are apt to conceit that even a prime min. is nothing more than their caterer. Were such men ever before known, in order to obtain the fulfilment of the conditions of a solemn treaty in their favour, to "submit their claims" to the justice of the party indebted to them, and to give up all reliance on the remonstrances or the power of their own government? The truth is, that persons, of almost every rank and degree, are beginning, as it was easy to foresee they would, to look to the French government for protection, to throw themselves on its mercy, to give up all notion of resistance, of any kind, to the will of France; they are, as often as an occasion offers, beginning to throw themselves on the mercy of the French government, and to look to that government alone, for protection!—*Lord Hawkesbury's* answer, too, is not a little curious. He has not said, that a refusal on the part of France, to fulfil this stipulation of the treaty, would be just; but he has suggested

such objections as *may be* urged, and has by no means signified his intention to resist those objections, though one of them, (that respecting the effect of the Alien Bill) is, be it well observed, in direct opposition, as we may hereafter have occasion to show, to the former assertions of himself, of *Mr. Pitt*, and of almost every member of the present administration.—But, in short, if France is disposed not to fulfil the stipulation in question, some excuse *must* be found for not attempting to *compel* her to do it. As in the case of *Honduras*, all the ministers are anxious about, is, a *pretext* for yielding up the rights of their country, a long story, strung together with *ifs* and *buts*, wherewith to bewilder the people, and to present to the world a shew of remaining dignity.

It has long been the practice of the French revolutionists to cause first to be promulgated, in other countries, those facts (true or false), and those sentiments, which they, for some reason or other, wish not to have the appearance of originating with themselves. Of this sort is an article, (see p. 114). which has lately been published, at *Stutgard*, and republished in the *Paris papers*, and the principal object of which is, to renew the assertion, that *England has nothing to do with the affairs of the continent*, and that, if France chooses to send troops to *Malta* or to *Egypt*, *England* has no right to interfere therein, *because no mention is made thereof in the treaty of Amiens*. Upon this subject, it has been observed, in one of our daily prints, that France, in refusing to admit of the proposition of *Lord Whitworth* (see the article alluded to), and in insisting to hold us to the treaty of *Amiens*, "is not to blame. She has a right," continues this print, "to abide by that treaty, and is not bound to make further concessions without an equivalent. If the treaty of peace has not bound up France sufficiently from sending troops to *Malta*, or *Egypt*, that is the fault of the British ministers who made the treaty." Now, though we never have, and never can, justify either those who made, or those who approved of, the treaty of *Amiens*, we cannot join in the charge, which this writer has preferred against it, and which amounts to nothing short of an acknowledgment, that, by the said treaty, *we have, both now and for ever, forfeited all right to make use of either persuasion or power to prevent the subjugation of any other country besides our own*. It is somewhat strange, too, that this writer should reject, with disdain, the very same principle, when applied to *Parma* and *Etruria*, respecting which also, it is said, our minister at *Paris*, has made a remonstrance. "England," says he, "has a right para-

"mount to all treaties; a right in common
 "with every other great state, to watch,
 "that no one power acquires an undue ac-
 "cession of territory, or an undue ascen-
 "dancy, and to watch, above all powers,
 "France, her natural and constant enemy."
 —And, why, we should be glad to know,
 does not this "paramount right" hold good
 with respect to *Malta* and *Egypt* as well as
 with respect to *Parma* and *Etruria*? Is it
 because the preserving of the two former
 from the clutches of France is more im-
 mediately necessary to our interests, than is a
 like preservation of the two latter?—As to
 the real state of the case, relative to *Malta*
 and *Egypt*, our opinion is, that France will
 endeavour to send troops to both, but to the
 latter in particular, where her emissaries
 now are in full activity; and, we are very
 sure, that there is no power, Russia except-
 ed, capable of preventing the accomplish-
 ment of this project, *without having recourse*
to arms. Whether Russia will insist upon
 the real independence and security of *Malta*
 and *Turkey* with its dependencies, is more
 than we can say. Much depends upon the
sort of ambition, with which that empire is
 actuated. At any rate, in order to obtain
 the necessary guarantee from Russia, Great
 Britain must act that part, which is becom-
 ing only in a power of the *second rank*. This
 is the *level*, which Buonaparté's paper says
 we have been so long seeking, and which,
 under the auspicious guidance of "THE
 "Family," we have at last happily found:—
 a just punishment for applauding the dis-
 graceful peace, by which those low, obscure,
 untried, unknown men were enabled to sink
 the country to a level with themselves.—As
 to PRINCE RUSPOLI's accepting, at last, of
 the Grand Mastership of *Malta*, as is stated in
 the *Hamburgh intelligence*, we do not believe
 a word of it. If that island should not finally
 become an article in Buonaparté's wholesale
 and retail shop of indemnities, at which we
 should not be at all surprized, probably the
 Baillie Tomassy, now at *Messina*, will be
 appointed Grand Master.

Our readers will perceive, that a conven-
 tion has been agreed on between *Austria*
 and *France*, relative to the *Gr. D. of Tus-*
cany, but of the terms we imagine little is
 yet known. A little time, however, must
 bring them to light. They are not, indeed,
 an object of much interest; they can contain
 nothing more than merely a very small mi-
 tigation of the blow against the Imperial
 family.—The Swiss constitution is said to
 be completed; but of this we have received
 no certain information. In the mean time
Switzerland is provided with a most ample
 and comfortable protection from all injuries,
 foreign or domestic. General NEX, the

French Ambassador, has 2,000 men under
 him in the city of *Berne* (a pretty good suite
 for an Ambassador). There are 1,000 more
 in its dependencies. Gen. SARRAS, with
 2,000 men in the canton of *Lucerne*; Gen.
 BORNEAU, with 4,000 men in the canton of
Zurich; 4,000 more in the *Pays de Vaud*,
 and 2,000 in the north of *Switzerland*; sin-
 gle battalions occupy *Basle*, *Friburgh*, and
Soleure; and the *Helvetic troops*, who are
 under the command of the French, are
 chiefly employed in levying contributions!—
 Happy effects of *neutrality*! Happy effects
 of that system, which the old opposition pro-
 posed in the year 1793! Happy effects of
 "profiting from the mutual injuries of con-
 flicting nations!" The Swiss may now learn,
 perhaps, to feel for the French emigrants,
 whom, after drawing from them their last
 shilling, they hunted from their cantons.
 Had the Swiss joined heartily in the cause
 of the allies, Europe might still have been
 free: at any rate, *Switzerland* could not
 have been more completely enslaved.

We quote the following passage from the
Mg. Post of Thursday last.—'By a Philadel-
 'phia paper of the 15th December, which
 'we received yesterday, it appears the Ame-
 'ricans have taken the alarm at the ap-
 'proach of the French in *Louisiana*.' The
 paper alluded to says, "We have authority
 "to state, that government is taking all the
 "necessary steps to prevent any reasonable
 "ground of uneasiness arising on account of
 "the French occupying *Louisiana*, *New Or-*
 "leans, &c. in consequence of which, it is
 "supposed, our *Western boundary* will become
 "insecure." 'If the danger to the United
 'States of America be such as here repre-
 'sented, we well know what will be the re-
 'sult. By cajoling and menacing, Buonaparté
 'will reduce them to as absolute a state of de-
 'pendence as *Holland*. He will squeeze sums
 'of money when he pleases, and in any future
 'war with Britain, he will cut off one of our
 'greatest commercial resources.'—As the man
 in the play says, "We have certainly heard this
 "before, somewhere or other;" and, we have
 little doubt but our readers will remember
 having seen every word of it in Mr. Wind-
 ham and Mr. Elliot's speeches, almost a
 twelve month ago. We are afraid, too,
 that we cannot say, in this, as in many other
 cases, "better late than never," for, if we
 are not greatly deceived, these sentiments
 might as well never have been expressed as
 to be kept back until now. Mr. Windham,
 in his speech of the 3d of May, 1802, said,
 in speaking of the cession of *Louisiana* to
 France, "What a present have we made to
 "the Americans? We have placed a ser-
 "pent in their bosom, by which they will
 "be ultimately devoured. We have put

"them in that state in which they must become willing slaves under the dominion of France; and, as men always detest the instrument less than the cause, and turn their resentment upon those, whom they can make to feel it most, the Americans will not, of course, hesitate between us and the French; and thus we shall ultimately forfeit the friendship of America by the aggrandizement of the French in that quarter."—So that the *M. Post* is rather tardy in pointing out the dangers to be apprehended from the cession of Louisiana. It is nothing to do this *after* the Americans have expressed their alarm; that is the act of a mere news-monger: but there required some statesman-like knowledge to do it the moment the cession was heard of, and, of course, long before the sentiments of the Americans could be known.

In the same print, on which we have just commented, and which is well known to speak the sentiments of Mr. Sheridan and the small politicians more immediately attached to his non-descript way of thinking, we find, under the aforementioned date, a curious article, entitled, "UNDUE DESPONDENCY." The writer blames the *despondency* of the country, which he attributes, in the first instance, to the "New Opposition," and to Mr. Windham in particular, but then proceeds, under the malignant disguise which we have often stripped off, to *defend or palliate*, that conduct in him, as "a truly noble and manly despair:"—"a desponding tone mixed with quixotic notions:"—"to die with arms in our hands rather than yield one jot of our honour:"—and this he should applaud, if our situation were such as Mr. W. "represented;" if "the power of France were really so irresistible, so incapable of restraint, either from principle or fear."—Now, who would not, from all this, imagine, that the New Opposition had clamoured for the peace of Amiens, as a measure of *absolute necessity*? that they had, with Mr. Fox, declared our situation to be such as "not to permit us to enquire about the terms," and, with Mr. Sheridan, that, it was "a peace which every man was glad of, but which no man was proud of!" Who would imagine that the very gentlemen here accused of "undue despondency," of having "represented the power of France as totally irresistible, and incapable of restraint," who would imagine, that these very gentlemen are, at other times, called the "war-faction," and that this very Morning Post has accused them of a wish prematurely to plunge the country in a war? Who ever heard before of a "desponding tone" proceeding from "quixotic notions?" The truth is, these small politicians having wished to obtain a reputation for *prudence*, having wished to encroach on the monopoly of our "safe politicians" in Downing Street, by declaiming against the New Opposition as being too eager for war, now think to obtain a character of vigour and steady fortitude, by holding up the New Opposition as preachers of despondency. Never did Ld. Grenville, or any of the party who opposed the peace, "represent the power of France to be irresistible, or her ambition as incapable of restraint, from fear." Quite the contrary. But they said, and they still say, that the advantages which the

treaty of Amiens gives her, once confirmed, consolidated, and improved, by the peace on one side, and the effect on the other, of perpetual concession and submission, in breaking down, debasing, and destroying the spirit of the country, will, together, be likely to make any future struggle more hazardous in every respect, proportionably for the length of the intermediate delay. They must think, that, if there be any long interval, the operation of these causes will make a new war only the occasion of a still more inglorious and injurious peace, even if we succeed, by our present defensive system, to escape absolute subjugation. Yet, with these sentiments, they did *not* advise immediate hostilities, much less did they recommend any "desperate resolution:" they declined the question altogether, professedly because, for the first time after a treaty of peace, there was no regular parliamentary information whatever of the actual state of this country with relation to France; whether the treaty was executed or not; whether it was likely to be executed; or whether any unforeseen difficulties had arisen to keep it in suspense; or, still more generally, what were the disposition and assurances of our late enemy. They were called upon to bring charges against the ministry, without a record, communication, or paper of any kind which could fix them to any one point: they were desired to argue the state of the country from rumours, reports, private intelligence, and public newspapers; and, they refused, according to their duty as peers and members of Parliament, to bring any thing to a direct decision there, on such unusual and derogatory evidence. Yet, in the mean time, they endeavoured, by the general effect of their language, to stimulate and goad the Gov. the Parliament, and the Country, into animation, energy, and vigour. And, is there, in this conduct, any thing of exaggerated *despair*, or of the wild *quixotism*? But, the small politicians, having first clamoured for *peace on any terms*, and then affected to "mourn" at the terms of a peace which they were "glad of" in the lump; having resolved to support a minister whom they despise, for the low and selfish purpose of keeping out a minister whom they hate; having involved themselves in endless inconsistencies, and being withal totally destitute of all real political principle and knowledge, they are now endeavouring to preserve some degree of consequence by misrepresenting those who have pursued one direct and steady cause of honour.—So much for the *Small Politicians*!

NOTICES.

OUR CORRESPONDENTS will have the goodness to excuse us till next week.—We have now in hand no less than *eleven* letters, from different correspondents, and on different subjects, all of which we wish to insert; and, in order to be able to do so, we shall next week publish *two sheets*, a step, which, during the session of Parliament, we shall probably be obliged to repeat on the first Saturday of every month. Of this, however, we are not certain. It will entirely depend upon the quantity, which we may possess, of important and original matter.

MR. COBBETT's translation of "*L'Empire Germanique, &c.* together with "*A Memoir on the Political and Military State of Europe.*" by the same author, is now published, and is sold by E. HARDING, No. 18, Pall-Mall, price 2s. 6d.—It is proper to notify, that this work will be inserted entire in the Supplement to Vol. II. of the Register, which will positively will be published next Saturday.